THE LABADIST COLONY

IN

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History is past Politics and Politics are present History.—*Freeman*

THE LABADIST COLONY
IN
MARYLAND

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction	7
Doctrines of the Labadists	9
Government of the Labadists	15
Labadie and the Labadists	20
Colonization in America	26
Labadists and the Manor	38
Bibliography	43

The Labadist Colony in Maryland.

INTRODUCTION.

This monograph treats of what was practically a lost chapter in the early history of Maryland. In the year 1864 Mr. Henry C. Murphy, then corresponding member of the Long Island Historical Society, discovered in an old book store in Amsterdam a manuscript which proved to be the journal of two commissioners, sent out by a peculiar religious body, that had originated in a defection from the Reformed Church of The Netherlands, to discover in the new world a suitable place for the establishment of a colony that should perpetuate their principles.

Prior to the discovery of this document, it was indeed traditionally known that a peculiar sect of people, called Labadists, had settled on the estates of Augustine Herrman in the first half of the seventeenth century. Nor had the fact only a traditional basis, for there were indeed fragmentary references to these people in the early records of the State and in historical manuscripts, as well as occasional isolated notices in contemporary writers. But, withal, the information was so meager as to preclude the possibility of a proper conception of their place or importance in the early history of the State.

Mr. Murphy translated and published the manuscript in the "Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society." He accompanied it with an introductory sketch of the rise and development of the Labadists sufficient to assign it to its proper place among the historical documents of the State. Since Mr. Murphy's publication, the "Bohemia Manor"

has received the attention of two persons, whose family affiliation with its history renders them peculiarly competent to undertake its recital. I refer to General James Grant Wilson, who delivered an address on "An Old Maryland Manor," before the Maryland Historical Society, in 1890, and another address before the New Jersey Historical Society in the same year, on "Augustine Herrman, Bohemian, 1605-1686," besides an extended sketch of the manor, in the *Dutch-American Magazine,* for 1886; and the Rev. Charles Payson Mallary, who issued a monograph on "The Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor," in 1888, in the publications of the Delaware Historical Society. While treating exhaustively of the history of "Bohemia Manor" proper, neither of these gentlemen have contributed anything to that important phase of its history, a study of which is contemplated in the present monograph. It seems unfortunate that an important chapter in the religious life of colonial Maryland should so long have failed of adequate treatment, a failure due, however, to the unavailability of material. There is indeed no lack of materials for a proper study of the Labadists, but such materials have been inaccessible because, with few exceptions, they were not to be found in this country. The writer has succeeded in obtaining from abroad a number of the contemporary sources and authoritative works bearing upon the subject, and has sought to embody such research in a paper designed to set forth a history of the rise and development of Labadism, and of that system of doctrine, religious polity and administration, which was so faithfully reproduced by the colony beyond the seas. By availing himself of the materials already at hand it has been possible to write a history of the Labadist settlement on "Bohemia Manor," such as was previously impracticable.

CHAPTER I.

DOCTRINES OF THE LABADISTS.

Labadism was a late product of that spirit of reform which inaugurated the Protestant systems. Theologically, it belonged to the school of Calvin. In its spirit, however, it was in the direct line of that vein of mysticism which is met throughout the history of the Christian Church. In the mode of life which it prescribed, it was conformable to that sentiment of ideal brotherhood, which, though not distinctively a Christian conception, has been ever a favorite mode of representing the fellowship of Christian believers.

Its theology was not distinctive enough to differentiate it from the Reformed Church of The Netherlands, of which it was an off-shoot. But there were certain individual characteristics in Labadism sufficient to give it a character quite distinct from that of the established church. Yet, as will be noticed later, these distinctive elements in Labadism embraced no principle vital enough to insure their perpetuation. At best, Labadism was a sporadic effort to effect a reform in the established church, to infuse a sentiment of deeper fervor in its formal administrations, and to awaken in the believer devoutness of spirit by enjoining austerities of life, abnegation of the flesh, and renunciation of the world.

Though, like most profoundly spiritual movements, it was influenced by its millennial hopes, yet it would be an error to place Labadism in the category of those Adventist sects which have a brief existence, as prophets of the coming kingdom, only to decline when the time of the supposed Advent has passed by. These millennial hopes were not a part of the system itself, but only an expression of that spirit of profound pietism which, in response to the

announcement, "Behold, I come quickly!" yearningly responds, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus!"

The influences which shaped Labadism must be sought in the theological controversies of the day—controversies which, as one of the Dutch writers expresses it, "warmed the head and cooled the heart." The Cartesian and Aristotelian schools of philosophy found their counterparts in the Church in the adherents respectively of John Kock and Gysbert Voet. The Cocceian was the more influential, the Voetian the more evangelical. The Labadists were a radical development in the Voetian party, until their separation from the Reformed Church. Labadism emphasized the vigorous protest of the Voetian party against the moral laxity and spiritual lassitude countenanced by the established Church.

The theology of Labadism may be briefly summarized from the catechism prepared by du Lignon, a prominent member of the Labadist community, as well as from other contemporary sources, to which the writer has had access.[1]

The progressive plan of God for the salvation of the race was embraced in four covenants. The first was one of nature and of works. This was a race covenant and was based on the laws of God as implanted in human nature. Its infringement by Adam, produced from the inexhaustible stores of God's goodness, the second covenant, "more excellent and holy than the first"—that of grace. During the continuance of this race covenant, which extended up to the coming of Christ, and which provided for the salvation—through the merits of the promised Redeemer—of all who came within its provisions, there was established a special covenant with Abraham. The benefits of this covenant extended to all his posterity, and to those who became his spiritual children by entering into his belief. Its sign was

[1] P. du Lignon: "Catechismus of Christelyke onderwyzinge," etc., pt. III. Koelman, J.: "Historisch Verhael nopende der Labadisten Scheuringh," Preface, v.

circumcision, and the salvation of those who received it was no longer conditionally provided for under the general covenant of grace, but was assured through especial calling and election. This covenant was superseded by a special covenant with Moses. It is described by du Lignon as "typical, ceremonial, literal and entirely external; hence, only designed as temporary in order to set forth the grace and truth of Christ by symbols."[1] The Israelites were united to God by the covenant of grace and the outward covenant as well, but all other races could be united to God only by the outward covenant. But this ceremonial covenant was only intended to prepare the way for the reception of Christ. As Christ had been manifested in the time of the patriarchs by sacraments, promises, visions and the communication of his spirit, so now under the covenant with Israel he was revealed by fuller and more frequent prophecies, by sacraments and shadows, by revelations and appearances, and by the outpouring of the spirit.

But the fourth and last covenant was the consummation of the revelation of Christ and of the plan of salvation. It differed from the covenant entered into with Adam in that it was not hidden under a cloak of ceremonials. It was also a covenant of fulfillment instead of one of promise; it was clearer, holier and more exalted than its predecessors. Faith was its condition, obedience its sign. It included in its gracious provisions only the elect. The heart was conceived of as a tablet on which was inscribed the law of love. Pardon, holiness and salvation were its fruits. This covenant placed the renewed spirit, which it provided in contradistinction to the works of the law. The new spirit made possible a new life. The symbols of this covenant as instituted by Christ were baptism and the Lord's Supper. When the Lord had sealed this covenant by his death and ascen-

[1] "Catechismus," III, 16. A. M. van Schurman: "Eucleria Seu Melioris Partis Electio," p. 9, v. v. "Historisch Verhael," etc., p. 252. Yvon: "De regten aard van't oude en nieuwe verbond."

sion, he sent the Holy Spirit to lead into it his elect and to keep them under its provisions.

The Holy Spirit is conceived of as operating through the Scriptures and the administration of the sacraments, as well as by the more direct way of immediate communication to the souls of the elect or faithful, his presence in the heart being indicated by the conduct of the believer. The Church was to be a community of the elect kept separate from the world by its pure teachings. This Church was to be universal and holy, comprehending all believers; the love of the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, being the common bond. Outside of this Church there was no safety, and from it there could be no severance.[1] It was to be distinguished by two great periods: the one of sorrow, conflict, work and crosses; the other of triumph and honor, the millennial reign on earth of the Church triumphant.[2]

Those who were uncircumcised, impure, and abominations of desolation[3] were represented to have crept into the fold, but with such the members of the true spiritual Church were to have no communion. To this doctrine of the separation of the believer from the unbeliever is directly attributable the communal mode of life of the Labadists.[4] In its rigid application it made it the duty of husband and wife to separate if either were not of the elect Church. The elect Church came to be synonymous with the Church of the Labadists, so that a Labadist could not be lawfully united to one who was outside of his belief. This necessary consequence of the doctrine of the separation of believers and unbelievers was embodied in an explicit tenet, as follows: "Beide personen begenadigd en wedergeboren zyn, omdat

[1] "Het Heylige voor de Heyligen," p. 724. "Eucleria," p. 152. J. de Labadie: "Le Héraut du grand Roi Jésus."

[2] H. van Demeter, "Saatste monarchie," in his work: "De opend van Jésus Christ."

[3] "Eucleria," pp. 196, 202.

[4] "Catechismus," III. De Labadie: "Wedergeboren of geen Christen."

anders het huwelyk niet heilig kan zyn en een geloovige moet geen juk aandoen met een angeloovige."[1]

Another important element of the new covenant was freedom from the dominion of law. The only law to which the believer was subject was the new law of Spirit and of love. The effect of this doctrine as applied by the Labadists, was to nullify the ceremonial system of the Old Testament, and to reduce to a position of incidental importance all its specific moral injunctions. With this conception, the law of Sabbath observance lost its importance. As a part of the old Jewish system it failed of honor among them. But, in effect, the Labadists did observe the Sabbath as a rest day, not on conscientious grounds, but in consideration of the scruples of others; in other words, so that they might not render themselvs legally amenable to the civil authorities[2] for its infraction.

As none save the true believers were included in the new covenant, so evidently no others had a right to the signs and seals of this covenant. This was the basis of the Labadists' doctrines concerning the Lord's Supper and baptism. Baptism, according to the Labadist formula, insured the washing away of sins and the sealing of a new covenant of grace with God.[3]

Infant baptism was discountenanced, because it could not be told beforehand whether the child would grow up as the elect of God in grace or increase in sins. Yet the baptism of the children of believers was not actually proscribed by the Labadists. In lieu of infant baptism, the child was brought before the Church, presented, consecrated and blessed.

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[1] Both persons must be pardoned and regenerated because otherwise the marriage cannot be considered holy; and a believer may not assume the yoke with an unbeliever.— "Catechismus," III. Yvon: " Le Mariage Chrétien."

[2] "Eucleria," p. 106, v. v.

[3] Yvon: "Leer van den h. doop en deszelfs zuivere bediening," etc.

The Lord's Supper also was limited to those who were beneficiaries of the new covenant.[1] Even such as they could not partake of it when conscious of sin. Indeed they affirmed that it were better that the sacrament should not be administered at all, than that one unworthy person should partake of it.

In addition to the sacraments and preaching, the new covenant provided for the study of the Scriptures as a medium of communication between the Holy Spirit and the Church. This was strongly insisted on by the Labadists. But yet, they insisted quite as strongly, that while the reading of the Bible was a medium of communication for the Holy Spirit, the Spirit was not limited to any medium, and even though the Bible was not read, the believer could not fail to be instructed immediately by the Spirit in all Christian doctrine. The effect of this teaching was to cause the place and importance of the Bible to be underestimated.[2] Yet the preaching of the Word was obligatory on the part of the teachers, and the speaking brothers and sisters were also commissioned to interpret and to apply it to their hearers.

Labadism was essentially a mystical form of faith, teaching supreme reliance upon the inward illumination of the Spirit. And yet the works of the Labadists disclose a high form of Christian faith and aspiration. Whatever its defects, and the opportunities for hypocritical pretence which it offered, Labadism was yet a standard of faith and conduct which no one could conform to without at the same time exemplifying high Christian graces. True, Jean de Labadie, the founder of the faith, was a profound mystic, seeing visions and hearing voices, receiving revelations as to his course and conduct, and thereby discrediting himself with many intelligent admirers of his fearless eloquence and reforming zeal.

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[1] Yvon: "Het heylige voor de heyligen."
[2] "Declar. fidei," p. 228.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE LABADISTS.

In its government, the Church of the Labadists was a strongly centralized church, all mission communities being directed from the Mother Church at Weiward.[1] Pierre Yvon, the successor of de Labadie, was regarded as the Supreme Father of the whole Church. With him were associated a number of governors or superintendents, who met in an assembly for the transaction of business of importance. The superintendents comprised the speaking brothers or ministers and the more eminent of the women. These constituted a class of preachers, teachers and Bible readers, who had charge also of the instruction of the youth. Sometimes there was held a general assembly, including all the members of the community above the rank of novice. The superintendents constituted an advisory council to the supreme head of the Church. It was this superior council which received the reports from the heads of the various daughter churches, and it was this council that passed upon all recommendations for elevation to the rank of full brother or sister of those who had been received into any of the communities as novices. Thus the community in Maryland was kept under the direct controlling influence of the Mother Church.

At the head of the Maryland community was Bishop, or Superintendent Sluyter. Unquestioning obedience to those placed over them was rigidly exacted of every member of the community. Dittleback (who had himself been a Labadist, and had severed his connection with the Church)

[1]Du Lignon: "Catechismus," III, chap. 9-13.

assures us, in his "Verval en Val Labadisten," that Sluyter arrogated to himself and his wife absolute authority in the Maryland community, without regard to the provision in the Labadist system for an assembly of the brothers and sisters of the higher order.

Each member of the community had his or her assignment of work and duties. Order and system of the most admirable character prevailed in all departments of the community.[1] Some were in charge of the laundry, others of the cooking; others again were nurses and physicians. To such minute detail did the system extend that Dittleback assures us that a register was kept of the number of pieces of bread and butter consumed at a meal. The different families had dwellings according to their needs, though, by partitioning off the larger compartments, strict economy of space was observed. All rooms were at all times open to the pastors and to those who held oversight in their name. Those who joined the community resigned into the common stock all their possessions. Individuality in attire was suppressed. "The haughtiness of the worldly spirit must be subdued" was a tenet far-reaching and well understood by each member of the community.[2] Degrading tasks were assigned those suspected of pride. Samuel Bownas, a minister of the Society of Friends, in the record of his visit to the community gives a more particular account of their table discipline than can be found elsewhere. He says: "After we had dined we took our leave, and a friend, my guide, went with me and brought me to a people called Labadists, where we were civilly entertained in their way. When supper came in, it was placed upon a large table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, came in at a call, twenty men or upwards, but no women. We all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having passed

[1] H. Van Berkum: Labadie en de Labadisten, part II, p. 113.
[2] "Catechismus," III, chap. 9.

a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not so the rest till a short space after, and then they, one after another, pulled all their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent uttering no word that we could hear for nearly half a quarter of an hour, and as they did not uncover at once, neither did they cover themselves again at once, but as they put on their hats fell to eating not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that it might be ten minutes time or more between the first and last putting on of their hats. I afterwards queried with my companion as to their conduct, and he gave for an answer that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt some inward motion for the same, and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words, and that it was most proper for every one to pray as moved thereto by the spirit in their own minds. I likewise queried if they had no women amongst them. He told me they had, but the women ate by themselves and the men by themselves, having all things in common respecting their household affairs, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry; and if any one had a mind to join with them, whether rich or poor, they must put what they had in the common stock, and afterwards if they had a mind to leave the society they must likewise leave what they brought and go out empty-handed. They frequently expounded the Scriptures among themselves, and being a very large family, in all upwards of a hundred men, women and children, carried on something of the manufacture of linen and had a large plantation of corn, flax and hemp, together with cattle of several kinds." The custom of beginning the meal by chanting a psalm, which was the practice at Weiward, seems to have fallen into disuse in the Maryland community. In other respects, however, the observations of Samuel Bownas agree very accurately with what we know to have been the custom of the Mother Church.

The following extract from the "Verval en Val Laba-

disten," by Peter Dittleback, affords an instructive sidelight upon the life of the Maryland Labadists, particularly as to their views of marriage. The writer says: "A friend of mine arriving from Sluyter's community has made revelations to me with regard to their doctrine of marriage. * * * He went there with a full surrender of himself, family, goods and effects. His penitence, Sluyter wrote, was unusual. The letter was read to us at Weiward and we rejoiced exceedingly over his conversion; but now since he has left them, they charge and blacken him with sin. He was compelled not only to submit to the mortifications imposed by Sluyter, but also to those of Sluyter's wife, who had shortly previous arrived from Weiward and took a little hand in mortifying. What they thought of at night had to be done somehow during the day. Indeed they made it so sharp that a brother who had been sent over from Weiward would remain with them no longer, but returned to Weiward, where also he was humiliated. This abasing cannot continue a long time among these people. My friend's wife had five small children whom she brought with her to this new cloister discipline. When she kissed them she was rebuked for showing so naturally her fleshly cleavings. * * * I could tolerate Weiward in some degree, that there should be no fire in the cells, although it is cold there in the winter, because turf is dear, and so many families could not be supplied unless at great expense, but this friend told me that Sluyter would not allow them to have any fire in order to harden them and to mortify and subdue the sins of the body, while there was so much wood there that they were obliged to burn it in the fields to get it out of the way; but Sluyter had his own hearth well provided night and day. My friend had never suffered more cold and hardship than among these people, and he frequently made a fire in the woods in order to warm himself. His wife had no mind to remain in this cloister under such an abbess, who censured her at the time she had a child nursing at her breast, because she drank too much at the table, and when afterwards she

drank less, because she left off too soon. As they saw these things did not please his wife they began to talk to him more plainly and freely concerning marriage, arguing that *hell was full of ordinary marriages*, saying, among other things, these abominable words: 'It was for God alone to judge whether he cohabitated with a harlot or with his wife.' The wife fearful lest they should take her husband away from her, of which there had been at that place more than one instance, sought very affectionately to speak to her husband privately, and to exhort him to steadfastness, as she had come away with him from Amsterdam and was there in a strange land with her little children. They had succeeded, however, with him so far that he began to keep himself away from her. His wife being very angry about it, the abbess jeeringly asked her if she could not be one night without her husband? The husband finally began to attack their doctrine about marriage out of the Scriptures, showing that the apostles had not taught so. He asked Sluyter what marriage *he* came of? Whether his parents were not married in the ordinary way? They began to wonder at this man's opposing them out of the Scriptures, until finally he told them soundly that all connection between him and them was at an end. They were confounded, and went at him in another way, saying we have several times spoken about marriage, which is a delicate subject, but we must also say to you that when there are any who cannot conduct themselves that way in the marriage relation, we will tolerate them. But how tolerate, as a brother? No; but only as regards community of goods and living together. This was a new trick to get him in; but they had already blabbed too much. They did not look favorably upon his going back to Holland, and attempted to frighten him from it, asking him if he were not afraid to trust himself on the sea, and fall from one pit into another? But he persevered, and the Lord helped him and his, in an especial manner, to reach the Father-land in safety."[1]

[1] "Verval en Val Labadisten," Letter III.

CHAPTER III.

LABADIE AND THE LABADISTS.

"Few theologians," says Dr. J. D. T. Schotel, in his "Anna Maria van Schurman," "have ever lived, concerning whom their contemporaries have spoken and written with deeper contempt and more unstinted praise than Jean de Labadie." But with all the diversities of opinion concerning him, there was a general concensus of opinion as to his wide and varied learning and his matchless pulpit eloquence, while his sermons and treatises remain to-day as evidences of his theological grasp.

He was born at Bordeaux, in France, February 10, 1610.[1] His parents entered him at the Jesuit College, where later he became a member of the lower order of the priesthood. His mystical views and eccentricities finally made him objectionable to the Jesuits. For this reason, as many writers believe, though ostensibly on the ground of ill-health, he secured his release from the order and became a secular priest. His genius and talents had led the Jesuits to tolerate him until his attacks upon salient features of the Catholic Church,[2] added to his fanaticism, made him altogether undesirable. He considered himself immediately inspired in his

[1] Chaufepie, "Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique." Some of the Dutch writers give his birth as February 13. Dittleback declares that he was an illegitimate son of Henry IV, whom he greatly resembled. The more general and credible view is that his father was a French noble, Chaufepie. Niceron, Bâsnage, in his "Annals des Provinces Unies," p. 52, Spener, *et al.*, hold that the father of Labadie was a soldier of fortune, who rose to be Governor of Bourg.

[2] J. de Labadie: "Grace and the Efficacious Vocation." Mollerus: "Cimbria Littera."

utterances.[1] He attracted the attention of P. Gondran, second general of the oratory of Paris, and received a call to that city, the whole body of the Sarbonne uniting in the call.[2] The fame he acquired there, extended beyond the borders of his own country.

Jesuitical jealousy persecuted him with stories of gross immorality[3] and caused him to leave Paris for Amiens.[4] Here he had the good fortune to come under the notice of the courtiers of Louis XIII, who recommended him to the good offices of their sovereign and Cardinal Richelieu. Until the death of the latter he was safe from attack.[5] At Paris he had united with the Jansenists and had been unsparing in his crusade against the Jesuits; but not alone against them, for in a preaching tour throughout Picardy, he had severely arraigned the Catholic Church at large.

His declared intention was to reform the Church, and he conducted his services after what he considered the apostolic model.

On the death of Richelieu and the succession of Cardinal Mazarin, the Jesuits obtained an order of the Court for the arrest of Labadie, who was saved its execution by the death of the King. In 1645 he was cited to appear at Court along with his friend the Bishop of Amiens. He was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, which sentence was modified on appeal from the Assembly of the Clergy of France, then in session. He was ordered to renounce his opinions and to refrain from preaching for a period of

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[1] "Déclaration de la Foi," p. 84; "Historisch Verhael nopens Labadisten Scheuringh," p. 109.

[2] "Déclaration de Jean de Labadie," p. 122.

Dutch historians discredit these stories; many French writers affect to believe them.

[4] Chaufepie says: "One is not able to understand the motives that prompted Labadie to leave Paris," but Labadie seems to make it clear in his "Déclaration," p. 122-123,

[5] Mollerus, p. 36: "Déclaration," 124, *et seq.*

years.[1] During a second forced retirement,[2] he obtained and read a copy of "Calvin's Institutes," which had a determining influence on his after-career. The result of his solitary reflections is summarized in these words: "This is the last time that Rome shall persecute me in her Communion. Up to the present I have endeavored to help and to heal her, remaining within her jurisdiction; but now it is full time for me to denounce her and to testify against her."[3]

In 1650 he proceeded to the Château of the Count of Tavas where he adjured his former faith, adopted that of the Calvinistic system, and was later ordained a Protestant minister. The reception of the famous priest was heralded as the greatest Protestant triumph since the days of Calvin.[4]

Montauban, Orange, and Geneva were the scenes of his labors. He declined to consider many splendid overtures for a renewal of his Catholic allegiance.[5] At the Protestant center of Geneva, his services were attended by persons from all parts of France, Holland, Switzerland, The Netherlands and England. Among his converts were Pierre Yvon and Du Lignon, both prominent in the later history of Labadism; also Abraham van Schurman and his sister Anna Maria, who was considered the foremost literary woman of her day.[6]

De Labadie found the Protestant Church also in need of a reformer, and addressed himself zealously to the work. Voetius, Essenius and Lodenstein, prominent theologians of Utrecht, whither Labadie had been called through the influ-

[1] De Labadie: "Traité de la Solitude Chrétienne."

[2] "Cimbria Littera," p. 37.

[3] Schotel: "Anna Maria van Schurman," p. 160.

[4] Among the treatises he published at this time were the "Déclaration de la Foi" and the "Practique des Oraisons mentale et vocale."

[5] "Nouveau Dictionnaire," etc., Article, Labadie.

[6] Those unfamiliar with the famous "Mithradates of the Seventeenth Century" are referred to the following sources: "Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique," Article, Schurman. Schotel: "Anna Maria van Schurman." Tschackert: "Anna Maria von Schurman."

ence of Anna Maria van Schurman,[1] were not altogether favorably impressed with him. To them he was not only the brilliant divine, but also an irresponsible visionary, not only the eminent theologian, but an arrogant egotist. Hence his stay at Utrecht was short. At Middleburg, Zealand, his previous successes were repeated. Among his converts was the Ch. de Rochefort.[2] Such an aggressive personality dominated by a sincere conviction of a call to attempt a great work of reform in the Church could not but eventually antagonize the established ecclesiastical order. Such was the case. He became embroiled with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities and was formally deposed from the ministry.[3] In this position he felt the alternative thrust upon him of founding an independent church, which should illustrate the pure principles and practices of the Christian faith, as he conceived them. Being driven out of Middleburg, he established at Veere, a church which he styled the Evangelical.[4] The States of Zealand again ordered him to *move on*, After a demonstration on the part of the burghers which nearly precipitated an armed conflict, Labadie removed to Amsterdam, where he had an interval of peace, and an opportunity to establish a communal society, theories of which had always been cherished by Labadie.[5]

The Church at Amsterdam grew and prospered. Overtures of union were received from various sectaries, notably the Society of Friends, all of which Labadie declined to consider.[6] Labadism as an independent ecclesiastical sys-

[1] Schotel: "Anna Maria van Schurman," p. 167.

[2] The eminent cartographer.

[3] Ypey en Dermout: "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk," vol. III, p. 88, note 128; vol. II, note 751. "Historie curieuse de la vie, Sr. Jean Labadie," p. 22, *et seq*. "Nouveau Dictionnaire," Article, Labadie. "Historisch Verhael nopens der Labadisten Scheuringh," 2d edition, 1770, pp. 14, 15.

[4] De Labadie: "Déclaration Chrétienne," etc. "Historisch Verhael," etc., p. 15.

[5] A. M. à Schurman: "Eucleria Seu Melioris Partis Electio," p. 147.

[6] "Nouveau Dictionnaire," Article, Labadie.

tem became the subject of a great deal of polemical writing on the part of its founder, his friends and his adversaries.

After a long period of uninterrupted and peaceful development, some disorders occurring at their services furnished a reason for the civil authorities to place such restrictions upon the society as practically to cripple the Church. In this emergency, the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick the Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, who was a friend of Anna Maria van Schurman, became their patroness. She tendered them the Abbey of Herford, in Westphalia, of which she was abbess.[1] But here also they were denied a permanent asylum. Their immediate offense was certain excesses which were indulged in by some of their number, and which resulted in the withdrawal of many of the more sober and intelligent members of the community.[2]

The Princess being ordered by the Imperial Diet to cause the removal of the Labadists from Herford, the whole company sorrowfully embarked for Altona, Denmark, in 1672. Here Labadie died two years later. His death evoked estimates of his work and worth from high ecclesiastical sources and it is significant to note that the general expression was in a high degree laudatory.

His evident fanaticism and strong personal ambition were recognized and deplored, but his bold and fearless attacks upon immorality and upon lassitude in the Church, had an awakening influence upon the ecclesiastical organization, which long survived him. Indeed, the Dutch historians are disposed to regard Labadie's chief work the leavening of the old lump, by the many hundreds of his converts who remained in connection with the Reformed Church, and the Labadists after Labadie who were re-

[1] "Eucleria," pp. 182-184.

[2] On one occasion of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, a spiritual dance was indulged in by men and women promiscuously, with the accompanying excesses of indiscriminate kissing and embracing. "Historisch Verhael nopens der Labadisten Scheuringh," p. 73, *et seq.*

ceived back into the Reformed Communion upon the disintegration of their own society. Pierre Yvon succeeded to the position of Father of the community. The problem of properly provisioning a large community led the Labadists to remove to Weiward, in Friesland, where they became established in an estate called Thetinga or Waltha House, which was tendered to them by the three daughters of Francis Aarsen, Lord of Sommeldyk. There in the depths of a thick grove of stately trees they lived in rigid accordance with the practices which had been left them by their late lamented leader for the regulation of their religious lives. From the simple people of the neighboring hamlet they received the name of Bosch-lieden, "people of the woods."[1]

If communal Labadism was born at Amsterdam, it was at Weiward that it attained its full measure of strength, declined and died. For more than half a century this place was the seat of the new Church, and from it jurisdiction was exercised over the few feeble communities planted at other places. From Weiward also proceeded the colonists who settled in Maryland, and from Weiward proceeded the voice of authority that controlled these colonists.

At Weiward the Labadists were still subjected to ecclesiastical persecution. Synod after synod furnished opportunities for forensic declamation against them on the part of ill-disposed ministers.[2] The Estates of the Provinces, however, maintained their tolerant attitude towards the oft-persecuted sect.

The return of the Labadists to The Netherlands had been marked by large accessions to the community. Among those received at this time was Peter Dittleback, the translator into Dutch of Anna Maria van Schurman's "Eucleria," and the author of the work, entitled "Verval en Val Labadisten," to which reference has been made.

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[1] "Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk," note 149.

[2] "Acts of the Synod of Friesland for the Year 1675," Article 44.

CHAPTER IV.

COLONIZATION IN AMERICA.

Two distinct sets of forces were operating to link Maryland with a movement which, though modest in its local development and influence, is yet recognized by Dutch writers as one of the most significant developments in the Reformed Church of The Netherlands. Having considered the history of Labadism prior to its planting in Maryland, and having studied the doctrines and practices which the Maryland Labadists held in common with the mother community, we must now notice the course of events which gave the name "Labadie Tract" to the nomenclature of the State.

Whatever may be the theories concerning the source and motives of religious toleration in Colonial Maryland, certain it is that where religious toleration has been practiced the result has been the attraction or development of sects reflecting the various shades of religious opinion. Whether or not Maryland's attitude in this respect attracted the Labadists to her shores, it is a fact that their experience of repeated persecutions in Europe, had led them to turn their eyes longingly towards the New World, in the hope that they might there discover a haven of refuge, where they might practice the principles of their faith without let or hindrance.

The particular circumstances which favored the settlement of the Labadists in Maryland lead to a consideration of the manorial grant of Lord Baltimore to one Augustine Herrman;[1] for it was upon the lands thus granted that the settlement of the Labadists was made.

[1] There are various spellings of the name, and on these spellings hinges the controversy of Herman's nativity, the Germans claiming him for themselves and asserting that Bohemia was his adopted country, while the Bohemians claim that he was a native of Prague.

Augustine Herrman, "first founder and seater of Bohemia Manor," was a Bohemian adventurer who made his way to America in the service of the West India Company. He is generally believed to have been a native of Prague, Bohemia, and to have been born about the year 1608. A fair education, supplemented by the opportunities of an adventurous career had made him conversant with French, Dutch, German and English. He was also an excellent surveyor and something of an artist.

As a soldier he had seen active service under Gustavus Adolphus, and upon retiring engaged in various commercial undertakings in the service of the West India Company[1] and thus made his way to New Netherlands. New Amsterdam, where he made his home, felt the impress of his strong personality in many ways. He was an original member of the council of nine men instituted by Governor Stuyvesant in 1647, and his name appears in various important transactions, while serving as a member of this council.[2]

His connection with Maryland matters dates from his appointment by Governor Stuyvesant as a special commissioner, along with Resolved Waldron, to negotiate with Governor Fendall, of Maryland, relative to the disputed eastern boundary of Lord Baltimore's Province.[3] As an instance of his acute discernment, he pointed out that Lord Baltimore's patent only invested him with such lands as had not been previously inhabited by any persons save the barbarous people called Indians. This interpretation of the terms of the charter was not acceptable to the Maryland authorities, and the dispute was referred to the respective governments for adjudgment.

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[1] Johnston: "History of Cecil County," p. 15.

[2] "Ancient Families of New York," in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, April, 1878, p. 54.

[3] "New York Colonial Documents," vol. II.

Waldron returned to New Amsterdam to submit their report, and Herrman proceeded to Virginia to clear the Dutch of the charge of inciting the Indians in the Accomac to hostilities against the English. Returning, he passed through what is now Cecil County, Maryland. So favorably was he impressed with the beauty and advantages of the section, that he commenced negotiations with Lord Baltimore, which resulted in his receiving an extensive land grant in consideration of his making a map of Maryland and Virginia, which would be valuable to Lord Baltimore in the settlement of the boundary dispute pending between the two colonies.[1] Thus Herrman was invested with about twenty-four thousand acres of the most desirable lands of what is now Cecil County, Maryland, and New Castle County, Delaware, which he erected into several manors, called by him, "Bohemia Manor," "St. Augustine Manor," "Little Bohemia," and "The Three Bohemian Sisters."

Among the titles of Acts passed by the Maryland Assembly, is one dated 1666, which provides for the naturalization of several persons therein named, and including "Augustine Herrman of Prague, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, Ephraim, Georgius and Casparus, sons of said Augustine, Anna Margaritta, Judith and Francina, his daughters."[2]

It was the design of Lord Baltimore to erect a county that should bear his name, so that one of the specifications of Herrman's grant was that he should erect a County of Cecil with the town of Cecilton. Herrman's lands were at that time included in Baltimore County, which embraced all the head tributaries of the Chesapeake. The year of his settlement in Maryland, the year 1661, he mentions that he was engaging settlers to unite to form a village. It is not probable that he succeeded in his purpose. The County of

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[1] A reprint of this map is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

[2] Bacon, sub Anno 1666. This was the first naturalization act passed by any of the Colonies.

Cecil was subsequently erected, and until that time Herrman was a Justice of the Peace of Baltimore County.

The alliance of his eldest son, Ephriam, with the Labadists, who made their appearance in America in 1679, leads us to consider the circumstances and motives which led the Labadists to Maryland and effected their settlement on "Bohemia Manor." The circumstances were industrial and economic, the motives were religious. Along with a desire to find in the New World an asylum where they might peacefully pursue their communal life, they were actuated by a praiseworthy zeal for the conversion of the Indians. But, perhaps, the scheme of colonization found its greatest strength in the industrial needs of the community at Weiward. The problem of sustenance for a community of above one hundred persons was one not easy of solution; and, indeed, at the time of its highest development this problem was magnified four-fold.

At the time of their greatest prosperity they received a visit in 1667 from William Penn and his associates, Fox, Barclay and Keith,[1] who renewed the overtures of union which William Penn had made to Labadie in Amsterdam. But the Friends left without accomplishing their purpose, though with pleasant impressions of the people so like themselves in the mystical elements of their faith.

The community the Quakers visited at Weiward was an eminently industrious one. Each member had an assignment of work, the returns for which went into the general coffer.[2] Of this industry, Anna Maria van Schurman says: "It is nearly incredible with what splendid order, with what comfort and ease even the heaviest and most difficult work is performed by us, where the Christly love, which maketh not ashamed, goes before and directs everything. By the singular blessing of God, it sometimes happens that we do

[1] "Penn's Travels," 4th ed., p. 98, "De Labadie en de Labadisten." Gough: "History of the People called Quakers," p. 9, 492; part II, p. 12.

[2] "De Labadie en de Labadisten," pp. 118-119, part II.

more work in a single day than other workers of the same kind in three or four days."[1]

The lands at Weiward were chiefly valuable for grazing, but Dittleback ascribes their failure for agricultural purposes to indifferent cultivation. Besides sheep-raising and agriculture, various other pursuits were engaged in. There were complete facilities for printing and publishing books and tracts, the sale and circulation of which devolved on some members of the community. Soap manufacture was followed with indifferent success; the sale of Labadie pills brought considerable profit to the community, while the Labadist wool was a celebrated brand of the times. There were also in the community tailors, shoemakers, bricklayers, carpenters, etc. But the revenues from all sources were insufficient to provide more than the scantiest subsistence for the whole company of men, women and children.[2]

The policy pursued was to relieve the mother community by successive subdivisions and the establishment of communities at other places. The Labadists had discovered that the plan of concentrating a very large force at any one point was impracticable in communal relations, unless forms of remunerative employment sufficient to meet their needs could be originated. So, as the community increased in number, daughter churches were established at Rotterdam, The Hague, and elsewhere. They considered this form of Church organization to be primitive and apostolic, and as in all things they endeavored to foster the ideal of their illustrious founder—the reproduction of the living image of the early Church—they endeavored to model their Church organization and adapt its administration to the sacred pattern, just as in practice they sought to reproduce the customs of the early Church.

The attention of the Labadists had been first directed

[1] "Eucleria," p. 145, *et seq.*

[2] "Korte onderrichtinge, rakende den staet en maniere van het der Labadisten."

to the New World by the three sisters of the Lord of Sommelsdyk,[1] who was also the Governor of Surinam, which had passed into possession of the Dutch by the treaty of Breda, in 1667, in compensation for New York, which was ceded to the English. This seemed to be the most desirable place in the New World for the establishment of their colony, as it was the only possession remaining to the Dutch in America, and their colony would be under the patronage and protection[2] of the friendly Governor. A deputation that was to report on its availability found that the Governor's representations were colored by his desire to have such pious and industrious people as his colonists, and in reality the Eden which they expected to find approximated more closely to a hospital.

The Labadists next considered New York for their purposes. The objections to this place were that it had now become an English possession, and its Governor, Andros, was a Roman Catholic, and they were afraid that under him they would not enjoy the measure of religious liberty they craved.[3] Another objection to New York was that tobacco, which was a staple product, was interdicted by the rules of their society. Especially solicitous were they as to the probable measure of success with which they might preach the evangelical faith to the natives.

It was determined by the Weiward assembly to send two of their number to New York at once to secure land for a colony. Peter Sluyter and Jasper Danckers, both prominent men of the community, were selected for the task. The journal, which was kept by these two men, constitutes an important source of information concerning the Labadists in America.[4] For some prudential reasons they traveled under the aliases P. Vorstman and J. Schilders. Their departure for America is thus noted: "On the eighth of

[1] Kok: "Vaderlandsch Woordenboek," subject Aarrsens.
[2] "De Labadie en de Labadisten," part II, p. 132.
[3] "De Labadie en de Labadisten," part I.
[4] "Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society," vol. I.

June, 1679, we left home at four o'clock in the morning, taking leave of those with whom God had joined us fast in spirit, they committing us and we them with tenderness of heart, unto the gracious protection of the Highest." They arrived at New York on Saturday, the twenty-third of September. The next day they attended church "in order to avoid scandal, as well as for other reasons." On the following Thursday they received a call from one Arnold de la Grange, to whom they appeared to have brought letters. They thanked him for an invitation to accompany him to the South River, and replied that they would await the Lord's will as to their future course. Their journal is instructive as showing the manner of life of the American Colonists, unless the experiences they relate were exceptional. A night spent on the estates of a fellow-countryman from Utrecht is thus described: "After supper we went to sleep in the barn upon some straw spread with sheepskins, in the midst of the continual grunting of hogs, squealing of pigs, bleating and coughing of sheep, barking of dogs, crowing of cocks, cackling of hens, and especially a goodly quantity of fleas and vermin, of no small portion of which we were participants; and all with an open barn door through which a fresh northwest wind was blowing."

They sought in a quiet way to insinuate their doctrines into the minds of those whom they met in familiar converse. Remembering one of the declared purposes of their commission, they also sought every opportunity to acquaint themselves with the religious conceptions of the Indians, and expressed themselves in terms of indignation at the frauds perpetrated upon the natives. "Although," sav they, "it is forbidden to sell drink to the Indians, yet every one does it, and so much the more earnestly, and with so much greater and burning avarice, that it is done in secret. To this extent and further reaches the damnable and insatiable covetousness of most of those who here call themselves Christians."

Shortly after the date of this observation an event occurred which determined Maryland as the place of the

Labadist settlement in America. This event is recorded in the journal as follows: "From this time (October 18) to the twenty-second of October, nothing especially took place, except that we spoke to one Ephraim, a young trader, who was just married here, and intended to go to the South River, where he usually dwelt, for which purpose he was only waiting for horses and men from there."[1] Thus is described the meeting of the Labadist commissioners with Ephraim, the eldest son of Augustine Herrman. They thankfully accepted his invitation.

Their journal of daily events during this journey is not noteworthy for the purposes of this study, save as it comments upon and characterizes the Quakers, for whom they express the greatest contempt, notwithstanding the high esteem in which the Society of friends was held at Weiward. They speak of their experience at Burlington, a Quaker village, as follows: "We went again to the village this morning, and entered the ordinary exhorter's house, where we breakfasted with Quakers, but the most worldly of men in all their deportment and conversations. We found lying upon the window a copy of 'Virgil,' as if it were a common hand-book, and also Helmont's book of medicine, whom, in an introduction which they have made to it, they make pass for one of their sect, although in his lifetime he did not know anything about Quakers, and if they had been in the world or should have come into it while he lived, he would quickly have said no to them; but it seems these people will make all those who have had any genius in any respect more than common, pass for theirs, which is great pride, wishing to place themselves far above all others; whereas the most of them whom I have seen as yet are miserably self-minded in physical and religious knowledge."[1]

Further in their journal they again describe their experience with the Quakers: "In the evening there also arrived three Quakers, one of whom was the greatest pro-

[1] "Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society," vol. I, p. 153.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 176.

phetess, who traveled through the whole country in order to *quake*. She lives in Maryland, and forsakes husband and children, plantation and all, and goes off for this purpose. She had been to Boston, and was there arrested by the authorities on account of her quakery. This worthy personage came here in the house where we were, although Ephraim avoided her. They sat by the fire and drank a dram of rum with each other, and in a short time afterwards began to shake and groan so that we did not know what had happened and supposed they were going to preach, but nothing came out of it. I could not endure them and went out of doors." The next day the journalist continues, "The dinner being ready I was placed at the table next to the before-named prophetess, who, while they all sat at the table, began to groan and quake gradually until at length the whole bench shook, then rising up she began to pray, shrieking so that she could be heard as far as the river."[1]

The following day they record their arrival at New Castle, where they were welcomed to Ephraim Herrman's home[2] by his sister, whom they describe as "a little volatile, but of a sweet and good disposition." Here they met Mr. John Moll, a man of considerable distinction in the affairs of Delaware, and with whom they had previous acquaintance in New York, and who became one of their converts. Concerning Ephraim and his wife, they confidently expressed the hope that they would yet bring forth the seed the Lord had sown in them in his own time. A devout hope which was realized in the case of Ephraim to the sorrow of his wife.

The two Labadists next repaired to the home of Mr. Moll, expecting to be met there by servants of Casparus Herrman, who were to conduct them to their master's plantation. They digress enough in their journal to describe the system of indented servitude which they found on Mr. Moll's plantation and which they strongly denounce.

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[1] "Memoirs," pp. 182-183, 186.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

They proceeded to Casparus Herrman's, and in his absence they examined into the suitability of the "Manor"—St. Augustine's—for their purposes. The next day they visited Augustine Herrman's, meeting Casparus Herrman on the way. They describe "Bohemia Manor" as a noble piece of land, and speak of Maryland generally as the most fertile portion of North America, and add that it could be wished that it were also the most healthy. They presented to Augustine Herrman letters of introduction from his eldest son.[1] The worthy Bohemian appears to have been attracted to the two Labadists, and assured them that while he would not consent to sell or hire his land to Englishmen, yet they might buy what they desired cheap. Without entering into a definite contract for the transfer of land to the Labadists, Augustine Herrman rendered himself legally liable for such a transfer, so that on the return of the Labadists to America with colonists, the consummation of the sale of a portion of his estates to them was enforced by law. "Bohemia Manor" was free from the objection which they made to the plantation of Casparus Herrman, viz: that it lay along a road "and was, therefore, resorted to by every one, especially by these miserable Quakers."

The Labadists proceeded to New Castle, Delaware, where they were cordially received by their friend Ephraim Herrman. The following Friday, Augustine Herrman was sent for by his father, the Labadists supposing the summons to have reference to their proposed land transaction with the elder Herrman.[2] In view of Ephraim's friendship for them they congratulated themselves that this augured well for their prospects. But in view of subsequent developments it is probable that Augustine Herrman's suspicions had been aroused as to the Labadists, and that he sent for his son in order to sever his connection with them. This is abundantly borne out by the fact that the

[1] "Memoirs," p. 195.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

Labadists had subsequently to resort to law to compel Herrman to hold to his engagement and to transfer to them the land for which they had negotiated. Besides this, in a codicil to the will of Augustine Herrman, which was made not a great while subsequent to this, provision is made for the appointment of three of his neighbors as his executors, instead of his son Ephraim, the motive assigned for the change being that Ephraim adhered to the Labadist faction, and was using his best efforts to proselyte his brothers and sisters, and he feared the Labadists would become, through Ephraim, sole owners of all his lands. Nor were his fears groundless.

Having accomplished their mission to America, the Labadist commissioners returned to New York to embark for their own country. Until their departure their journal is prolix with conversations held with various persons on the subject of religion, some of whom are afterwards met in connection with the Labadist settlement in Maryland. The policy of the Labadists was to enlist converts by personal converse, and not by preaching. They attended church service whenever possible on Sundays, for prudential reasons alone, as they themselves admit. They studiously avoided bringing themselves into public notice, as though fearful, lest the object of their visit to the country becoming known, their plans might miscarry. While awaiting a ship in which to take passage, they received a visit from Ephraim Herrman and his wife in fulfillment of a promise made them on their departure from New Castle.

A notable event which occurred during their waiting was a visit paid to the Labadists by Pieter Beyaert, "a deacon of the Dutch Church," whom they describe as "a very good sort of a person, whom God the Lord began to teach and enlighten, both in regard to the destruction of the world in general and of himself in particular."[1] This was an ancestor of the Bayards, of Delaware. He later left

[1] "Memoirs," pp. 343-344.

New York and removed to the vicinity of Casparus Herrman's home, and was subsequently a member of the Labadist community.

On June 19 the Labadists embarked for Boston, intending to visit that place before starting for Weiward. While at New York their reticence with regard to themselves and their apparent lack of definite purpose, had awakened suspicions and surmises concerning them, so that they were variously credited with being Roman Catholic priests, Quakers, Brownists and David Jorists. At Boston they surrounded themselves with the same air of mystery and were suspected of being Jesuits.

John Eliot, the missionary to the Indians, to whom they sold copies of their publications, enjoyed the exceptional distinction of being the only religionist outside of their own faith, of whom they had a favorable word to say; due, perhaps, in some measure to the fact that work among the Indians was one of the avowed purposes of their own coming to America. They represent Eliot as expressing himself as highly pleased with the principles of their faith and as profoundly grateful to God for sending such pious people to the New World. On the twenty-third day of July, the Labadists set sail for Europe.

CHAPTER V.

LABADISTS AND THE MANOR.

In 1683 the two Labadists returned again to Maryland, bringing with them the nucleus of a colony. As has been stated already, Augustine Herrman refused to consummate the sale of his land to them, and they only succeeded in obtaining what has since been known as the Labadie tract, by recourse to law. The deed is executed to Peter Sluyter (alias Vorstman), Jasper Danckers (alias Schilders, of Friesland), Petrus Bayard, of New York, and John Moll and Arnold de la Grange in company. This deed is dated August 11, 1684.[1] The tract conveyed embraced four necks of land eastwardly from the first creek that empties into Bohemia River, from the north or northeast to near the old St. Augustine or Manor Church. It contained thirty-seven hundred and fifty acres.

Those who were associated with Sluyter and Danckers in this land transaction are all persons who have been referred to before in this paper. They were all professed converts to Labadism. Soon after they had received the deed of the land, Moll and la Grange conveyed their interest in it to Sluyter and Danckers. Bayard retained his interest until 1688, when he seems to have left the community and returned to his wife.[2]

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[1] "Baltimore County Records."

[2] He and Ephraim Herrman had both separated from their wives on embracing Labadism. There is a tradition that Augustine Herrman pronounced a curse upon his son Ephraim that he might not live two years after his union with the Labadists, and he actually did die within that time, but not before he had repented of joining the Labadists, and, like Bayard, returned to his wife.

The advent of the Labadists into Maryland does not seem to have attracted great attention. The aggressive spirit which characterized the Labadists in The Netherlands did not manifest itself in the New World. The additions to the community were made largely from converts among their own countrymen of New York.

The industrial activities of the Labadists show the influence upon them of new conditions. Slave labor and the cultivation of tobacco had been two objections advanced against the planting of a colony in America, yet notwithstanding the virtuous indignation expressed in their journal against these practices, we find the Labadists engaged in cultivating tobacco extensively, and using for the purpose the slave labor that was so abhorrent to them. In addition to the cultivation of tobacco, the culture of corn, flax and hemp, and cattle raising were prominent among their industries.

But the main purpose of the community was not rapidly accomplished. Their maximum development but slightly exceeded a hundred men, women and children.[1] The feeling of detestation for them expressed by Herrman in a codicil to his will, seems to have been very generally shared by their neighbors. This was doubtless in part due to the distrust engendered by their peculiarities and their seclusiveness of life. The peculiar forms of the Labadists were not favorable to the propagation of their faith; so that there seems to have been no attempt whatever by energetic public preaching or by missionary efforts among the Indians, to realize the hopes of the mother community in sending them out. The spirit of zeal for the salvation of men that gave rise to Labadism was not manifested by the Church in Maryland. It may be that the report of the decline of their faith at Weiward had a disheartening effect upon them. But, however this may be, the fact remains that the Maryland Colonists whom the Labadists in their journal describe as

[1] Samuel Bownas: "Life, Travels, Experiences," etc., p. 9.

very godless and profane, were little bettered by the coming of the Labadists among them. Their efforts in this direction were confined to endeavors at proselyting individuals, and frequently those were selected for their proselyting attempts, who would bring some substantial material benefits to the community.

In 1698 a division of the "Labadie Tract" was effected, Sluyter conveyed, for a mere nominal rent, the greater part of the land which he possessed to a number of the prominent men of the community. He reserved one of the necks of land and became very wealthy. In 1722 he died. Though up to that time there was still kept up some sort of organization among the Labadists, yet the division of 1698 marked the disintegration of the community, as did a similar division at Weiward, at about the same time. There, however, the dissolution came by consultative action, the Labadists returning to the Reformed Church became a leaven of profound spirituality, and their influence, it is affirmed, never died. The dissolution in Maryland came by the logic of events. The community dwindled into extinction. Five years after the death of Sluyter, the Labadists had ceased to exist as a community;[1] and were it not for certain prominent families descended from them, whose genealogy has been carefully traced by the Rev. C. Payson Mallary, in his excellent monograph,[2] the community on "Bohemia Manor" would be but a memory.

When we come to examine into the cause of the failure of Labadism to permanently establish itself in the New World, we find it to be attributable to that assertion of individualism which has proved destructive to all attempts at founding religious or industrial communities, subsequent to this first community ever attempted in America. But besides this weakness, inherent in the communistic system, there were particular contributing causes for the failure of the Labadist ideal. Of these particular causes those result-

[1] Samuel Bownas: "Life, Travels," etc.
[2] C. Payson Mallary: "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor."

ing from the system itself were more potential than those due to the environment in which it was placed. It was concerned more with intensive spiritual cultivation than with extensive propagation. It could operate more successfully upon those who were longing to separate themselves from worldiness, and were thus responsive to the profound pietistic aspirations which were the breath of the Labadist faith. The Labadist Church was not a pioneer but a reforming church. But besides this it had as a heritage from its founder, formularies and disciplinary methods, which militated against it even in those countries where it was originally developed. The communistic form of religion is not suited to longevity or large accomplishments, and must ever remain a Utopian ideal.

The personal character of those at the head of the community would of itself have operated against its success. Sluyter, though a man of almost morbid religious tendencies, was yet a man of strong mercenary instincts; and the mercenary motive seems to have gained the ascendency in the community.

Had Sluyter been possessed of the strong traits of character which presaged success to the pioneers of Puritanism, Catholicism, Quakerism, or any of the other vigorous systems, which had already, or which subsequently came with a strong hand to possess the New World for God, Labadism might have wrought itself into the religious life of the Colonies as effectively as did any of these systems of faith. Yet the decline of the Mother Church at Weiward, not only had a disheartening effect upon the Maryland Church, but so intimately connected were they by the Labadist polity, that the downfall of the communal fabric at Weiward, meant assuredly dissolution in Maryland, as the Labadist system had in it no latent possibilities of adaptation to new conditions.

And now, perhaps this paper cannot find a more fitting close than is offered by a glance at the declining fortunes of "Bohemia Manor." Augustine Herrman, its founder, had

cherished the ambition of perpetuating his name through a line of male descent, and desired that each of his male descendants in the line of primogeniture should incorporate in his name, the name of Augustine, on coming into possession of "Bohemia Manor." The free use of his name, or that of his native country, all point to the supreme passion of the worthy Bohemian.

He made his last will in 1684, and did not long survive. The stone which once marked his resting-place is now encased in a wooden box. But the place of burial of Augustine Herrman is beyond the possibility of accurate location.

His burial on his manorial estates carried out a provision of a will which he made, and which, though never proved, is preserved among the land records of Baltimore County. It is as follows: "I do appoint my burial and sepulchre, if I die in this bay or Delaware, to be in 'Bohemia Manor,' in my garden by my wife, Johanna Varlett's, and that a great sepulchre stone shall be erected upon our graves, three feet above the ground, like unto a table, with engraven letters that I am the first seater and beginner of 'Bohemia Manor,' Anno Domini 1660, and died," etc.[1]

Besides the slab of oolite bearing this inscription, the devastation of fire and the ravages of time have left few traces of the glory of other days, while the knowledge of the Labadists has become such a fading tradition in the locality where their history was developed, that very many who have been born and reared in the vicinity of "Bohemia Manor," have never heard of the sect which once flourished in a mild way under the broad toleration of the religious policy of Maryland's proprietaries.

[1] "Baltimore County Land Records," Book I. S., No. I. K.

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